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Well-affected *T O R I E S.*

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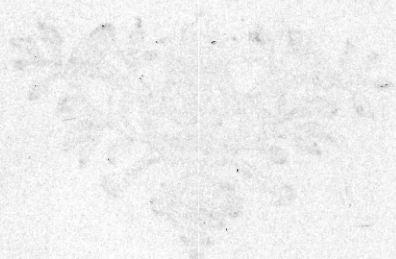
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 W A R N I N G  
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**I** Should hold it impertinent to offer you this or any Warning, had I not, for a Course of Years, seen your Hearts unmoved, your Eyes unopened by all the alarming Practices and gross Arts of your unchangeable Enemies.

I call those your Enemies, who are such to the present Settlement in the illustrious House of *Hanover*: I call those the Arts and Practices of Enemies, which plainly attack or undermine that Settlement, and blacken and weaken that Family. I call whatever is Enmity to that Settlement, Enmity to *Whiggism*.

You cannot but have seen the lasting Prejudices, the avowed Aversion of the rank *Tories* to the Succession itself, and consequently to *Whiggism*. I am sorry to observe, that your own Discontents, that your hasty and dangerous Prejudices (for all Prejudices that carry Men so far, are dangerous Prejudices) should keep you from seeing that Enmity with your usual Indignation. Don't you remember the Time when the House of *Hanover* was as dear to you, as the Deliverance which you received from it? Do you not still enjoy, ought you not still to feel and acknowledge the Blessing of that Deliverance, and still equally respect and support that illustrious Family,

so justly dear to *Whigs*? Can you have the Folly to see it daily exposed in daring, dirty Libels, to the furious Hate and Aversion of the Vulgar? Have you any other Choice, but *Hanover* or the *Pretender*? Have you any other Resource but *Hanover* against the *Pretender*? What is the first, what is the sure Way of overturning any Settlement, but to make it pass for odious and contemptible; to exercise Invectives and Slander previous to Force?

Other Princes have been freely treated and boldly opposed for governing without Parliaments, and against Law. The present King, and his Father, always ruled by Parliaments, and never violated one Law; so far were they from dispensing with all. Our Kings are not to be the less revered and obeyed because they came from *Hanover*. We ourselves chose them from thence; and it always was, and always must be, the Interest of *England*, to secure *Hanover* against the Designs of *France*.

This is the Persuasion of every *true Englishman*; as it is, I dare say, of every *true Frenchman*; and this is the Sense of Parliament. What other Opinion, what other Authority is an *Englishman* to follow, but that of an *English* Parliament? Would not any Man who carries about him any Sense of his own, rather regard the Judgment of the Legislature, than of a Pamphlet, or a News-Paper, generally written by mean or angry Men, for mean and selfish Considerations? Would it not be Infatuation in any Man, who has Property, and regards its Security, sooner to trust to the Guidance of a partial, passionate Journal, perhaps written by a Man who has no Property at all, than to the deliberate Decisions of King, Lords and Commons, the Three States of the Realm, themselves possessed of infinite Property, and deeply concerned in all the Consequences of their own Measures?



As to common Writers, they are generally little known, little knowing, guided by the common Maxim of Writing, what will most take, and what will best sell. Even were they to mean well, they are incompetent Judges. During the Reign, at least the early Part of the Reign, of *Charles II.* a very bad Man, and a worse King, but popular, most of the Writers were his Panegyrist. King *William*, with all the Virtues of a Hero, with all the Merit of a Deliverer, was unpopular, made so by the Arts and Industry of false and perjured Men. Therefore most of the Writers were against him; as they were against Queen *Anne*, whilst she governed by *Whigs*, and shewed Zeal for the Toleration, for carrying on the War against *France*, and for settling the Balance of *Europe*. For all which Merit she was unpopular, and terribly libelled: She grew most popular, when she fell into the most dangerous Councils. Before the late King had well settled himself in the Throne, it was attempted to libel him out of it; and Libelling being found insufficient, Rebellion followed.

As Libels tend, and are designed to introduce Disaffection, Disaffection nourishes and multiplies Libellers. Their Motives are for the most Part sordid, foolish, or wicked; such as the ready Penny, a hot Head, or a corrupt Heart. When Men of Distinction and Capacity descend to write Libels, they are not to be more regarded (except for their superior Style and Address) than the meanest Libellers. A Traducer is still to be considered and despised as such, whatever Fortune he unworthily possesses, whatever Rank he dishonours.

The Tendency of the present Libels is manifest: Nor could they have a more mischievous Tendency, though they were dictated by *France* and *Rome*, and came directly from thence. What could *Rome* desire more, than to see a Protestant Government in



*England* reviled, spurned and insulted by *Englismen*, and thence exposed to perish? What could *France* more passionately wish, than to see a *Whig* Administration libelled, despised and overturned, chiefly by the Help of Whigs? How high therefore must be the present Pleasure of both *France* and *Rome*? Neither could the hired Agents from thence act so openly, or half so successfully for them.

*French* Agents and Hirelings are numerous and busy: The *Jacobites* are in high Hopes; many of our Writers are keen *Papists*. Join to all these the Body of *Tories* drunk with Party, some *Whigs* mad with Faction.—This is the unhappy, but true, *Coalition of Parties*, the only one, and the worst: Another, and a better, is not to be hoped for, nor is meant even by those who talk most of it.

Such Swarms of Libels, written with such Virulence, with such a desperate and treasonable Spirit, were never seen or suffered in any Country where the Government was not already dissolved, or, from its Weakness and Forbearance, ready for Dissolution.

It is the Voice of eternal Experience, that no Government can stand, where the Governed may say whatever they please against the Governors. For saying implies doing, and is in order to it. Whoever argues, that Men may do what they please (which is but the same Extravagance more boldly worded) encourages them to rebel when they please; and to commit all other Treason, when they please. No private Subject can be safe in such a threatening Situation, where every Man may say of him whatever Malice or Fraud inspires. Where such Licence once prevails, all other Licence will soon follow. How then can Government be safe, when it must bear every Attack, must make no Defence, and punish no Offender? Liberty implies things forbid,

as well as things allowed; ceases when all things are allowed; for then Licentiousness begins.

It is an Observation of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, one of the wisest Men that *England* hath produced, that  
 “Factions, Rumours and Discourses, which alienate the Minds of the People, and impeach and weaken the Government, is a Degree of Treason.” It is certainly the direct Road to have a new Government every Day. Government has a Reputation to keep or to lose, as well as every private Man; nor can the Reputation, no more than the Property, of any private Man be secure, where the Government cannot secure its own. What can possibly be secure, when what secures all, is itself not secure?

I wish that there was an End of Parties, of Party Spirit and Party Distinctions: But I would not have the *Whigs* bubbled by disaffected *Tories*, nor the *Tories* swallow up or crush the *Whigs*. This would be a shocking Disgrace to the *Whigs*, who have always beaten them in Council, always routed them in the Field: This would be a dreadful Calamity to *Britain*, which has so often and so sorely felt the ruinous and hot-headed Councils of disaffected *Tories*.

The latter may well disguise themselves, be ashamed of the Name, of their own Principles and Conduct under that Name, and confidently usurp the Name of *Old Whigs*, Men whom they persecuted, destroyed, and still abhor; as appears by all Proofs; by their opposing them in all publick Measures, by their ancient and inveterate Rancour to the Family of *Hanover*, by their Aversion to a War with *France*, as from thence only they hope for a *Tory-Deliverer*, and Redemption from that *Whig-Liberty*, which they have ever oppressed and decried, for which they never had, never can have any just Taste, and which they would therefore utterly  
 destroy



destroy by turning it into Licentiousness and Rebellion.

It is the indelible Character of a disaffected *Tory* to hate *Hanover*, just as they did King *William*, whom they branded as a *Dutchman*, partial to *Holland*, disgusted with *England*, though he had just saved *Britain* from the Chains of Popery and Tyranny, as he had *Holland* from the barbarous and faithless Attacks of *France*.

It is Mockery in a disaffected *Tory* to talk of a *Coalition of Parties*, whilst a disaffected *Spirit* thus rages, and a disaffected Party thus insults. It is Infatuation in *Whigs* to be thus duped by such *Tories*. Whoever are disaffected to this Royal Family, are such *Tories*: Whoever is against the Honour and Security of the Family of *Hanover*, is such a *Tory*: Whoever is against the Preservation of the House of *Austria* is such a *Tory*: Whoever is against reducing the Power of *France* is such a *Tory*: Whoever would disable his Majesty from pursuing those great Ends, is such a *Tory*; or influenced and debauched by such *Tories*, or by a Spirit as dreadful as that of *Toryism*.

If they say that they honour the King, but hate his native Country; though I think they are very sparing in making that Distinction, if they make it at all; I would ask them whether they think the Populace will make it, or whether they would have the Populace make it? I believe it is plain to all who read their furious and unexampled Strains, that they mean *Persons* as well as *Place*, and that the Place is chiefly, if not only, made odious, in order to make the Master of it odious. It would have been the same had he come from *Austria* or *Piedmont*. Either of these Countries have cost *England* more than *Hanover*, though *Hanover* is entitled to the same Assistance upon the same *English* Principles.

There



There is a remarkable Passage in the fine Reply of Sir Thomas Parker, late Earl of Macclesfield, to the Defence made for Sacheverel—Let the Doctor, says that excellent Reasoner, “ Let the Doctor de-  
 “ scribe *False Brethren* in general, as *Betrayers and*  
 “ *Destroyers of the Church*, and as the proper Ob-  
 “ jects of the Rage and Fury of the People, and  
 “ then expose as *False Brethren* those in the *Admi-*  
 “ *nistration, Persons of Character and Stations*, from  
 “ the chief to the least ; the People will quickly  
 “ make the Application. If any Man should in-  
 “ flame the Mob to such a Degree of mistaken  
 “ Zeal, as to forget the Spirit of the Gospel,  
 “ and to believe it their Duty to serve God  
 “ by breaking the public Peace, and to support  
 “ his Church by pulling down all Meeting-Houses,  
 “ and rifling all the Houses of Dissenters ; he needs  
 “ afterwards only tell them, *This is a Meeting-*  
 “ *House ; Here liveth a Dissenter* : They are not so  
 “ dull as not to draw the Conclusion ; THEREFORE  
 “ THIS HOUSE IS TO BE PULLED DOWN : THERE-  
 “ FORE THIS MAN IS TO BE PLUNDERED.”

He applies the whole to a manifest Design of *Blackning the Queen*, and making her *Administration odious* ; though the Doctor denied that his Premises would admit any such Conclusion—He then adds ;  
 “ Shall the meanest of the People *clearly and rightly*  
 “ collect this to be Doctor Sacheverel’s Doctrine ;  
 “ and shall not *we* (the Managers) in accusing, and  
 “ *your Lordships* in judging, be allowed to collect  
 “ it, when we are endeavouring to preserve the  
 “ *Queen and Constitution*, and all that is dear to us ?

The Case is similar and awakening. Shall every  
 Cobler, every Porter, and the meanest of all De-  
 grees of Men, clearly understand, that in this con-  
 stant, fashionable, and traiterous Abuse of *Hanover*,  
 the *Electors of Hanover* is abused, and consequently  
 the KING OF ENGLAND ? And will you *Whigs*  
 bear

bear this threatning, this treasonable Attack upon the Establishment, upon the King, the Constitution, and all that is dear to us? Could the most open *Jacobites*, could the ablest and most sagacious Traitors take a more likely way to inflame the People, and raise a Rebellion?

The Story of *Dr. Sacheverel* is a melancholy Warning, how easily, how furiously, upon what wild and false Grounds, the People are to be inflamed into Insurrections and Acts of Treason.

*Wat. Tyler* is another Instance of the same Sort; a poor Mechanic, the Author and Leader of universal Rebellion, and of Armies as numerous as those of an *Eastern Monarch*. Indeed the Populace almost all over *England* composed the dreadful Host; though his Quarrel was, not only against the Government and the Tax-Gatherers, but confessedly against all Law, and against any Government whatsoever.

So true is what *Sir Walter Raleigh* saith, against leaving it in the Power of the People to make Changes in the Government; "because then all Governments will every Day be at the Will and Pleasure of the People: And I am sure, says he, that Arbitrariness in a Multitude, is far more dangerous than in a single Person. The Experience of all Ages hath found this to be true."

The Fact is, that none are for leaving the Multitude to rule, but they who think they can rule the Multitude. The People generally speak the Sense of the Person who infuses his own Sense into them. The Sentiments of the People therefore, are often no other than the Sentiments of one Man, *Dr. Sacheverel*, *Wat. Tyler*, or a *News-Writer*: Fine Authorities to sway and direct a great Nation! This is, however, the Source of so many fine Compliments to the People, generally by those who seek to  
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cozen and debauch them, and to work them into Fury and Disaffection.

The disaffected *Tories* have found their Account in this. Their Leaders have more than once governed the People, and were dear to the People, even when they most abused and outraged the People: They had such Success this Way, that the very Men, who taught them that they were Slaves, born and irredeemable Slaves, were their Idols and adored by them. Afterwards when popular Liberty was really and thoroughly established by the *Whigs*; the same *Tory* Leaders had the Assurance to persuade them, that they wanted Liberty, the Assurance to speak well of Liberty, in order to make them rebel for the Shadow of it, and so incur Slavery or the Gallows, because they deserved not the Substance. In all those Marches and Counter-marches, the deluded People accompanied them with miserable false Zeal, and with fatal ill Fortune.

You see the same Attempt is confidently made and carried on from the same Quarter: The People are flattered and intoxicated by Men, whom the People ought to abhor; Men who are Foes to Peace and Society. They drive the poor Multitude, by every traiterous Device, and every infamous Forgery, into Uneasiness, and then upbraid the Government with the Uneasiness of the People. It is the common Tract of all Incendiaries, the greatest and the smallest; of *Catiline*, and all his Followers, and abandoned Imitators, ever since.

That Arch-Traitor and *false Patriot*, (a Character which has ruined more Countries, than *true Patriots* have been able to save, and by assuming it, *Catiline* had almost proved too hard for *Cicero*.) I say, that terrible Traitor loudly courted the People, by inveighing against the Government, and the Senate. This was the ardent Stile of all his Followers: They all declared that they took up Arms

for *Liberty*. It was one of their greatest Grievances, that the *Seats of Justice were open* and the *Laws executed*; whence these unhappy Champions for Liberty were forced to be answerable for Debts and Crimes, and not suffered to enjoy the Liberty of contracting Debts, without the Hardship of paying them; nor of breaking the Law, without incurring the Penalties of the Law: Hardships not to be borne by Free and Independent *Romans*.

It is thus they excuse their Rebellion, in a Letter to a General of the Commonwealth: "That, as  
 " they could not live, like *Freemen*, at *Rome*, without Prosecutions from the Courts of Justice, for  
 " Debts and Crimes, they had taken Arms and  
 " would expose their Lives rather than lose their  
 " LIBERTY." Yet they call the Gods to witness,  
 " that by this recourse to Violence, they meant no  
 " hurt to their Country, or to any Man in it." It is a Passion for the Public, 'tis Zeal for Liberty, 'tis Tenderneſs for the People, that animates them all: It is this makes them hate their Governors; this prompts them to levy War, to destroy all worthy *Romans* by the Sword, and *Rome* itself by Fire.

This was the very Language of *Catiline*: "LIBERTY, my Friends, ſays he, It is that which I  
 " preſent you; the Darling of your Souls, LIBERTY!" When he was already armed againſt his Country, and breathing all the Bloodſhed and Ravages of a Civil War (the moſt dreadful of all Wars) he diſowns any Conſciouſneſs of Guilt (*nulla Conſcientia Culpæ*.) He is only going to vindicate the Cauſe of the Oppreſſed, to be avenged of the Oppreſſors, and do himſelf Juſtice for being *diſappointed of Preferment*, which, he ſays, he deſerved, but worthleſs Men enjoyed \*.

\* *Fruſtū Laboris Induſtriæque meæ privatus, ſtatum Dignitatis non obtinebam—homines non dignos honore honeſtatos.*



The worthy Patriot was disappointed, therefore the Government was corrupt, all Things were wrong, and he appeals first to the People, then to the Sword.

This was *Catiline's* public Spirit, this the Spirit of his Followers, and this their Language. Would to God the Case had been singular, and never happened since, at least not here.

One Observation I must not omit, that he treated *Cicero*, the Father, the Preserver of his Country, and supreme Magistrate of *Rome*, as a *Foreigner*, and therefore unworthy of that high Trust. For *Cicero* was born at *Arpinum*, the *Hanover* of *Catiline*. This was enough: That Name very well fitted his Mouth, and the Mouths of his Mob: It was easy for him to say, perhaps as easy to make the Mob believe, that all *Cicero's* Services to *Rome* were intended for *Arpinum*, that *Rome* was sacrificed, the *Romans* were Slaves to the *Arpinians*; and every true *Roman* was called upon to vindicate their Liberty. All the Weight and Expences of that War raised by *Catiline*, and quelled by *Cicero*, were to be laid upon *Cicero*. He had defeated a dreadful Conspiracy, and was never to be forgiven by the Conspirators: Therefore the *Romans*, who had been preserved by him, were to hate and destroy him; since all the Plots against his Life had miscarried.

*Catiline* and his Followers, like other preposterous Patriots since, blabbed their own Secret too freely; that they were *Slaves to the Law*, or, which is the same Thing, *by the Law*. An emphatical Phrase now in Vogue, and however absurd, significantly intended, as a furious Appeal to the Mob, and an Incentive to Rebellion and Civil War.

He who asserts Subjection to the Law to be Slavery, is already a Rebel in every Country in the World: That he dare say or insinuate this here,

without being punished as a Rebel, is a Proof that there is no Country in the World so free as *England*. I cannot think it for the Honour of *England*, daily and tamely to endure such Libels, as would be Treason in any other Country under the Sun.

According to such mad Reasoning, every Mad-man may break every Law, and encourage all others to break all Laws, with Impunity; since there is no Law but what affects and hurts some. Whoever is so affected, need only call the most *legal* Hardship, *Slavery*, then turn Traitor, and rebel to assert his Freedom.

Here is a Call to Rebellion, and a Justification of Rebellion, in every Country in the World, to the End of the World. He therefore who propagates such execrable Doctrine is an Enemy to Society, and consequently to the World. By it one would think that the Government was actually dissolved, and no Law subsisting but that of the Sword. No Government that subsists can bear such Defiance and Insult, or will subsist long, if it do bear them. Whoever offers it to any Government, disowns the Government, or, which is the same Thing, defies the Government to punish him: And that Government which does not punish him, disowns itself.

Amongst the many Pretences for falling so constantly, so openly, and with such unexampled Scurrility upon *Hanover*, there is but one real Cause, a very plain one, though not owned: Nor is it intended, or need to be owned till it hath had its Effect. I know but one End, but one Interest, in the World it can effectually serve: An Interest destructive of all *Whiggism* and Liberty, though impudently promoted under that Sound. If there be any *Whigs*, who help to promote it, they must be strangely blind. I do not here enquire what has caused such Blindness. It is certain that without their Assistance, their Heads, their Speeches and



and their Pens, the Efforts of the disaffected *Tories*, would have been, like the Bulk of the Faction, absurd, gross and contemptible.

That all our national Expences, Wars and Treaties, have been made for *Hanover*, is as monstrous and incredible as any Cant and Excess of *Toryism*, as extravagant as their *Hereditary Right*, their *Passive Obedience*, and their Rebellion in Defence of it; their Perjury to a lawful King, their Loyalty to one claiming against Law; their Danger of a flourishing Church, their way of preserving it by Outrage, Drunkenness and Swearing, by Fire and Robbery; their *Presbyterian* Bishops, and their Innocence of Popery: All popular Maxims with them, all maintained by their keenest Pens, all believed by their noisy Followers, all supported by Impudence and Libelling.

Whatever they slanderously assert to the Disadvantage of *Hanover*, has been fully answered and refuted in Parliament, and will be again; and they are sincerely invited to the Debate there. But their chief Efforts are not in Parliament, nor in Debates: Their Strength is in the Vulgar, and in Libels to poison the Vulgar. There lie all their Hopes; there they exert all their coarse Talents and best Ability, that of Railing and Reviling.

In the mean Time, I defy them to answer what is said in Defence of *Hanover* Troops, and of the *English* Measures in Relation to *Hanover*, in *Faction Detected*. In all their Attacks, in all their Answers, they have not represented that Affair in its full and fair Light, as it is in that Book; a Book of which the best Defence is, that it has given the whole Party mortal Offence, because a mortal Wound. I think many Parts of it may be confuted or questioned by a *Whig*, but no essential Part of it can be ever confuted by the disaffected *Tories*.

What



What is become of all the confident Assurances, that the Forces voted for Foreign Service, would never be raised; that such Service was only talked of, never meant? The confident Assurances, that they would never go Abroad? The confident Assurances, that they would never march into *Germany*? The confident Assurances, that they would never do any thing there? The positive Assurances, that the *Dutch* Forces would not march; that though they marched, they would never join us? A Group of Falshood, confuted by Facts! Our Forces have entered *Germany*, and driven the *French* out of *Germany*: The *Dutch* have joined us; the great End so far is accomplished; and *King George* has gloriously distinguished himself, and reaped immortal Fame, to the immortal Grief of the Faction, and in spite of all their Lying, their traiterous Attempts to defame him. Their Libels are as transient, as they are foul: His Praise will be as lasting, as it is solid.

So much Bravery, so much Conduct, so much popular Merit, had its Effect, and was naturally followed by popular Joy and Applause. This gored the Faction. To tarnish his Glory and abuse the People, some Blot must be fixed, some Odium raised, and therefore some sturdy Falshoods invented. Clumsy ones they proved, God knows, but were forced upon the People with Noise and Impudence, in all Shapes, supported with the usual Assurance, that all their Lies were true. Particularly that the K—g was not in the Battle; a Forgery supported by no other Argument than that he was not killed in it. It is certain, He did whatever any great General does, whatever any brave Man can do, directed and animated the Battle, saw Death and Slaughter all round him, and faced it every where. The late great Duke of *Marlborough* never exposed himself more, nor did any other great Commander, unless, where the Men gave way, he were forced to

act like one of them, which, God be praised, was not the Case here.

The above Forgery required other subordinate ones to support it: His M——ty was more respectful of the *Hanoverians* than the *English*; and a Proof of this is meanly brought from the Colour of a Scarf: Mean indeed, but subservient to Malice, and the Child of it. The *Hanoverians* were equally exposed, their Loss of Men equal in proportion (as may be seen by all the Lists) and their Bravery like that of *Englishmen*, as many brave *Englishmen* saw, and as a very brave *British* Officer has since honestly testified and maintained in Parliament.

But the King's Councils and Conduct, the Disposition of his Armies, and even his Person and Name, are to be prostituted to the Mob under every black and traiterous Imputation, to be there examined, sifted, judged, and blackned. The Incendiaries expose the Character and Councils of their Sovereign, expose the Dignity and Reputation of the Realm to be tried by the Multitude, first carefully misinformed and incensed; a Tribunal where not one of these Incendiaries, these Flatterers and Deceivers of the Multitude, would trust the Decision of a Suit for half a Crown.

Such is the melancholy, such the provoking Condition of the Times: Where the best Measures are pursued, the most Offence is given. The more good Success in view, the stronger are the Efforts to prevent it, and to misrepresent and blacken it, when it cannot be prevented. It is Patriotism to distress the Public: If the Government cannot be taken by Storm, it is to be pulled down by Storm, undermined by Faction, made odious by Calumny, and represented contemptible, in order to render it weak.

All this is good Policy in *one Quarter*, and there only. There are some who know what few consider, that whatever hurts the King helps the Pretender.



der. If the Pretender in Person had instructed the present Libellers and Incendiaries, they could not behave more pertinently and outrageously than they do. If his Physician had administered Opium to many of the *Whigs*, they could not behave more stupidly. It is Time to rouse: Efforts to destroy the Government, require Efforts to save it.

The Resentment of the Nation against *France* was never higher. It is the old *English* Spirit revived. The Ministry justly encourage it, and turn it that way. This is right and promises Popularity. It is therefore alarming to the Faction, and not to be suffered. The *English* Spirit is to be diverted from *France*, and turned against *Hanover*; and for this infamous End, the most infamous Means are employed, the same that were employed formerly, by the same Men, for the same Ends, to divert it from *France* and turn it against *Holland*; nor will they ever forgive the King for beating *France*.

*France* is now beaten, disappointed, disgraced, her Spirit sunk with that of her Armies. Nor can it be raised again, but by disabling *Britain* from continuing its Efforts against *France*. We know the deplorable Effects of such a desperate Turn in the late Queen's Time; we still feel them. Let us not be caught by the same fatal Frenzy, which then bereft us of our good Faith, as well as of our good Sense, lost us our Allies, and left us naked to the Mercy of *France*, and to a brutal Rebellion at home. No Wonder we found it difficult, again to engage these Allies. Let us not again baulk and betray them: If we do, we are never like to recover them more. Let us unite against all who are united against the present Royal Family. Our public and domestic Danger, the War we are engaged in, the good Peace we hope from the vigorous Pursuit of the War, and all other interesting Considerations, public and private, call for such Union.





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As to the Incompatibility of a Conjunction between *English* and *Hanoverians* in the Field, it is a Chimera, an Objection which will lie against any Army, and against the most unmixed Armies. Wherever there are Men, though all of the same Nation, wherever there are Ranks and Degrees of Men, as there ever must be while there are Men, there will be Competition, Discontents, Emulation, Complaints and Envy. How is it to be avoided in Armies? The Horse despise the Foot: The Foot envy the Horse: The Dragoons like neither. Must an Army therefore be formed wholly of Horse; or wholly of Dragoons, or wholly of Foot? Or if such ridiculous Simplicity were observed, would there not still be Grumbling and Heart-burnings between Individuals, between Officer and Officer, and between whole Corps? Is there any Man who is Master of Words and Parts, or any Man who has the smallest Share of either, but can compose as plausible an Harangue, and offer as affecting Arguments against joining Foot and Horse, as any that has been offered or uttered against joining *Hanoverian* Troops with *English* Troops.

*Hannibal's* Army, the most victorious that ever was, was likewise the most various, a Medley of many Nations, who, though they might not, and I dare say did not, look very affectionately upon one another, agreed very successfully in attacking and beating the *Romans*: This was all that *Hannibal* wanted them for. Can it be imagined that the *Carthaginians* did not boast their own superior Merit, depreciate and frequently rail at the Confederates, and at *Hannibal's* unequal Favour to them: Or that the Confederates did not grumble at the Pride of the *Carthaginians*, and *Hannibal's* Partiality to his Countrymen? But would such strange Considerations have had any Weight with that wise Commander, to dismiss the Confederates? Or would his Enemies



at home, even his able and implacable Enemy *Hanno*, have had the Assurance to recommend such Dismission to the Senate of *Carthage*?

The *Persians* disliked *Alexander the Great*, as he was a *Greek*: They disliked his *Greek* Manners: The *Macedonians* railed at his *Persian* Dress, when for politic Reasons he assumed it. Was that great Prince and Commander ever influenced by such poor Disgusts and narrow Partialities, so as not to blend *Macedonians* with *Persians*, Bands of *Medes* with Bands of *Greeks*, Officers in *Asia* with Officers from *Europe*?

Do not all the great States in *Europe* entertain mixt Armies; *France*, *Spain*, the *Czarina*, and the *States General*? Do the Troops of the Queen of *Hungary*, so remote and so different as they are in their Soil, Customs, Climates and Religion, disagree in hating and beating the *French*? Did the Great Duke of *Marlborough's* Attempts fail because he commanded many Men of many Tongues and Nations? They all often complained, in their Turn, of their own unequal Hardships, and of his unequal Favour to the rest; and the *English* often complained of Him; and against all the rest, as if all had fared better than the *English*; as sometimes they really did and must; since he had more Command over Them than over the Confederates; or, perhaps the Confederates were better supplied by better Commissaries: And even for this he was sometimes complained of. For whoever is uppermost must bear the Blame, whenever the undermost suffer, even by their own Fault. The Duke was particularly charged with Partiality to *Irish* Officers, General *Cadogan*, *Meredith*, and others. This Imputation sowed many of the *English* and *Scotch*, and was loudly echoed and diligently propagated.

Suppose any hot-headed *Tory*, out of spite to the Duke, and the War, and the Taxes, and void of  
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all Sense or Care of the Consequences, should have moved in Parliament (in that *Whig*-Parliament which so gloriously distinguished the Duke, and supported the Queen and the War) for an Address to her Majesty for dismissing all *Irish* Officers and Regiments, as interfering with the *English*, and the *English* at variance with them: I dare say he would have appeared a notable Object of Mirth and Indignation to the House. Yet it was no unnatural Motion for a *Jacobite* to have made, if there were then any *Jacobites* in Parliament, or even in *England*, as all true *Jacobites* then averred there were not. There are some *Whigs* who would give us the same Consolation now, if we would accept it. We doubt the Good-News is rather premature.

It is certain that all these Complaints amongst the *English*, against the Duke of *Marlborough*, for Partiality to the Confederates and the *Irish*, had no other Effect upon his cool and wise Head, than to make him despise them. What could he have thought of an Attempt, founded upon no wiser Reason, to have forced him to part with twenty thousand of his best Auxiliaries at once, but that it came from Motives too dangerous to be named, and from a Party which never would, which never durst own their true Name, yet never departed from such Principles and Views as intitled them to that Name.

There is one Report diligently spread, and gives great Offence to such as are easily offended, or would make others so. It seems his M——ty threatned that his Prevot should punish some unruly *English*. Strange Offence! Had his M——ty been in *England* and threatned Punishment to any unruly *Hanoverians* there, he would have had the Applause of all *Englishmen*. This shews national Partiality: Why should not every Criminal be punished every where according to the Laws of the Place and the Measure of his Crime?



By this Instance however, and by a thousand others, may be seen what ridiculous Causes, what idle Rumours and Imputations create or destroy Popularity; when it is thus in the Power of Folly and Malice to raise and depreciate Characters, and to commit the highest Reputation to be torn and blasted by the Mob, and sometimes the lowest Reputations to be there exalted and idolized. There is no judging of Men, especially of great Men, least of all of Princes, from Popular Opinion and Popular Stories; because false Stories are easily raised and spread, and false Opinions are easily infused by *any* mean and malevolent Breath.

Sometimes the Mischief extends farther than to Characters only, and produces tragical Consequences. The Emperor *Aurelian*, a great Commander, admired by his Army, was yet murdered by the Army, carefully alarmed by the Force of a sudden Lye, invented by a Traitor, who could no otherwise save his own Life than by taking away that of his Prince. He therefore persuaded the *Prætorian* Guards that the Emperor, naturally severe, had resolved to decimate them for some late ill Behaviour. The Lye prevailed: The Emperor perished.

Negative Lies have sometimes equal Force with positive Lies. Many of the *English*, in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, misled by popish Emissaries, by Slanderers and disaffected Whisperers, would not believe, that there were any warlike Preparations in *Spain* against *England*, till they saw the dreadful Armada upon the Coasts of *England*. During all these *Spanish* Preparations, the *Spaniards* were constantly making false Overtures of Peace, and met with many here blind enough to believe them sincere, and forward enough to complain that they were not accepted. There is always enough to be said against War and Taxes.

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It is obvious to Experience and to common Sense, that the *French* are naturally Enemies to the *English*. It is equally obvious that the Toleration is not only a Christian Charity, but good Policy, and an evident Blessing to *England*: Yet there are many who believe (I thank God, not so many as formerly) that Dissenters are worse Enemies than the *French*, and that Persecution, which is a Disgrace to Christianity, is the Bulwark of the Church.

As many think, what all ought to think, that the *Hanover* Succession is the Barrier of *English* Liberty; I doubt there are some *Englishmen* long taught to think otherwise. These, I dare say, and their Instructors, are zealous to part with the *Hanoverian* Auxiliaries; and in this Point, however else misled, they judge soundly. I am sincerely concerned that those who differ from them in every other Point, should agree with them in this. I am convinced that every Agent the Pope or the Pretender has in *England* (and I fear there are many such) is plentifully furnished at this Juncture with Arguments and Invectives against *Hanover* and *Hanover* Forces. And I should have a very mean Opinion of the Politics of *Versailles*, if little *Buffy* comes not (if he do come) amply instructed and animated upon this Head, in order to instruct and animate others. I doubt not but the Proofs, as well as Notice of his Arrival, will soon appear from our daily and weekly Orators, all striving for Priority in Zeal and Scurrility in public Spirit against their King, against *Hanover*, and consequently in favour of *France*. What plain *English* may we not therefore still expect besides all that we have had? What *Innuendo's*, what *Italics*, what significant *black Strokes* and *Blanks*, all to discover keen Wit, which would never be otherwise discovered? One modern Art and Distinction extremely prevails, and is indeed wonderful; I mean to be very zealous for the War,  
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but as zealous against every Expedient for carrying it on.

We improve in Political Refinements and Disguises, and shine in some hitherto unpractised, therefore probably unknown 'till of late. Suppose a good *Dutchman* and Patriot, just before the Revolution, zealous for the Interest of *Holland*, and even of the Prince of *Orange*, and for that very *Protestant* Enterprize which brought about the Revolution, had advised and pressed his Royal Highness, either "to carry no *DUTCH* Forces with him, for fear they should not agree with the *ENGLISH* ; or "to suffer no *English* Forces to join him, lest these should not agree with the *DUTCH* : " I imagine that neither King *James*, nor his trusty Adviser, *Lewis XIV.* would have been at all offended at this safe, this Patriot-like Advice and Zeal of the good Burgomaster ; but perhaps the Prince himself would have been too sullen and undiscerning to have thanked him, or followed his Opinion. I likewise imagine and fear, that the Queen of *Hungary* will neither thank, nor Cardinal *de Tencin* reprove, the present Advisers against employing the Troops of *Hanover*. Sure I am, were I a *Frenchman* or a *Papist*, or a *Jacobite*, (if they be not all three synonymous Terms) I should warmly approve such Advice, and heartily pray for its Success : For, I cannot conceive that there is any *Jacobite*, or any *Papist*, or any *Frenchman*, who does not so approve, and so pray.

When King *William* declared War against *France*, would it have shewn a Patriot Spirit (a disaffected *Tory* Spirit, I am sure it would) to have addressed his Majesty, "not to employ any *DUTCH* TROOPS "in his Army, lest it might sower the *ENGLISH* ; "and lest, by such additional Forces, (so nearly and "naturally allied to *England*) he might weaken his " *ENGLISH* ARMY." The same Sort of Reasoning, had it succeeded, would have in Time extended, and  
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probably would have been so meant, to the Exclusion and Discharge of all Foreigners from the Army, that is, all Confederates from the Confederate Army, for ever; and then the Confederacy by coming to nothing, would have come to just what the disaffected *Tories* would have had it.

Suppose a high *Tory* Member had moved for an humble Address to his late Majesty, “against bringing over the *Six Thousand Dutch*, to help to suppress the late Rebellion raised by the disaffected *Tories* for the Extirpation of *Hanoverians* and *Whiggism*; because the same would be unpopular, and even frustrate the Design of sending for them; since they would be so saucy as to bear no Affront, nor Insults from such of the *English* who hated them; but would insolently pretend to equal good Usage, and that their General Officers would not receive Orders from *English* Officers of inferior Rank, who had no right to command them.” Suppose Mr. *Sk.—n* had seconded that Motion, setting forth with solemn Joke, “that He thought it of tender Importance to King *George*, and the Succession in his House, that his Majesty should not expose himself to the Hate and Distrust of his good *English* disaffected *Tory* Subjects, by calling over Foreigners to chastize some of those worthy *English* Gentlemen, who, in a Frolic, at worst in a Fit of Zeal and Drunkenness, had proclaimed the Pretender, and taken Arms in his Behalf: That *Dutchmen* had been always detested by all good disaffected *Tories* here, especially ever since the Courtesy they had forced upon us at the Revolution: That King *William* was not more unpopular amongst the said loyal disaffected Party, the *Tories*, for being THEIR DELIVERER, than for being a DUTCHMAN; that he was strongly believed to have unreasonably loved *Holland*, his Native Country, and therefore was never for-



“ given by the said loyal and disaffected Party:  
 “ That he therefore hoped his Majesty would take  
 “ Warning and not further provoke his good and  
 “ rebellious *English* Subjects by accepting Assistance  
 “ from any *Foreign Friends*.”

I cannot see that such a Motion then against the *Dutch*, would have been more absurd, or more threatening, than a late Attempt against the *Hanoverians*. It was indeed a rash but a home Stroke; since upon the same Principles, and I believe with the same View, all Foreign Auxiliaries might be precluded or set aside; nay, every *English* Regiment might be disbanded, on Pretences equally popular and wise. It would be only calling them by some odd Name, then making that Name odious, then making its Odiousness the Cause of their Dismission. Was not the great Duke of *Marlborough*, was not the great Lord *Godolphin*, were not the great Lords, *Somers* and *Cowper*, first branded, then turned out, for being *Presbyterians*, though none of them had ever frequented a Conventicle?

I wonder we do not hear of a Motion for removing a great *English* Minister for being a *Foreigner*. To prove him to be one, he need only be abused for living and speaking like one. In order to prove this, there need only be a true and polite Dialogue invented between *Kate Matchlock* and Serjeant *Kite*, and dispersed in Stalls and Gin-Shops: The Charge will then be notorious, and its Notoriety will be sufficient Ground for an Address. Such another Dialogue was the main Ground-work for such another Address. It was there intended, by horrid Imprecations, and many treasonable Forgeries, to sow Disaffection, the Parent of Unpopularity; and Unpopularity was to introduce and justify the *Motion*.

There is no Length so desperate which such desperate Politics will not go. With me it is no Doubt, that, amongst many of the Faction, the El——r  
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of *Hanover* is more obnoxious, more odious than the Troops of *Hanover* : I say amongst many of the Faction : God forbid I should judge, or had Cause to judge thus of some who concur with them. The Prospect would then be melancholy indeed. I would only ask them, Whether they do not believe, that every *Jacobite* upon Earth is delighted with the seditious Spirit abroad, with the swarming, gross Libels, with the disaffected Language of the Times, with the current Lies and fashionable Slander ; delighted with the popular Distaste to *Hanover*, and, in a Word, with the *Motion*.

Affuredly what pleases every *Jacobite*, ought at least to be suspected by every *Whig* : Whatever strikes at the Establishment, ought to rouse every *Whig*. The *Whigs* have had long Proof that the disaffected *Tories* would never join with them in settling and securing the Protestant Succession. I wish with all my Soul, that there were no *Whigs* to join with the disaffected *Tories* in Decrying, Weakening, Undermining, and even in openly Attacking the Protestant.

The disaffected *Tories* call themselves Country Gentlemen, and pique themselves upon that Title ; a very honourable one, when it is well grounded, and justly assumed. They have certainly, at Times, at all Times that offered, shewn a ready Disposition to be good Courtiers : For I hope they will not say, that when they flocked to Court, they entertained any base Thoughts of taking the Preferments of the Crown with Design to betray the Wearer of the Crown. Their Eagerness for Places they cannot deny, nor their Readiness to crowd to Court to take them. It is very bold Grimace to say that they first insisted upon satisfying the People, and made Demands on their Behalf. Did they ever do this when they were in Place ? Are they not famous,

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and marked, and recorded, for despising the People, for treating them as Slaves, hereditary Slaves?

They went to Court in a Body, at the Beginning of this Reign, in such a numerous Body, as to leave the *Cocoa-Tree* empty of all but *Martha* single in the Bar, yet to the Surprize of No-body, not even of old *Sh——n*, who comforted *Martha*, with a solemn prophetic Strain, that *they would come again*. Did they not vote for the Augmentation of the Civil List, and for a Hundred thousand Pounds for the Queen's Jointure? Did they not do this, and all other Acts of Complaisance and Courtliness, and join in them all as one Man? For poor old preaching *Sh——n* (an honest *Jacobite*, except his taking the Oaths) was hardly an Exception. So far were they from making any Stipulations in favour of the People, any Conditions for Place-Bills and Triennial Parliaments, or contending for any the smallest *Self-Denying Ordinance*. They failed of Places, and then were not ashamed to rail at them, and all in them; to rail at the Civil List, to rail at the Queen's Jointure, at all that they had done, and all that they would have done.

So much I had written some Time before the present Alarm, and but for the present Alarm, should probably never have revised it, or had one second Thought about it. But what ought to awaken all Men, hath roused me. A neighbouring Nation, which hath been calling upon all *Europe* for above a hundred Years past, to witness and revenge its Perjuries and Usurpations, is at this Instant, asserting its true Character in an Attempt, which seems rather to arise from Folly and Despair, than any just Hopes of succeeding in it. Were not such Hopes fed and encouraged by some at home? Who these *Some* are, it is needless to explain. They are the same who have clogged every Wheel of Government at, and since, and in consequence of, the Revolution ;



volution; the same who enjoy Liberty and curse the Authors of it; the same who are always most provoked when all Ranks of Men have most cause to be easy and content, and by their fierce Enmity to just Governors shew how unworthy they are of any but a Government as fierce as their own Disposition. They are surfeited with public Lenity, and return Forbearance with Insult.

Whoever is set up here by the Power of *France*, must be maintained here by the same Power, and at best must be the Vice-Roy of *France*, as the Nation, in general, must be the Slaves of *France*. For as 'tis the Law which makes Men Subjects, it is the Sword that makes Men Slaves. Violence alone can secure an Invader, who will be sure to set aside the Laws that set aside him. A *French* Invasion implies a *French* Conquest; Conquest implies Servitude. He must be fit for *Bedlam* who dreams that *France* can mean any thing but our Desolation and Ruin by endeavouring to force a King upon us, or that they even mean that he shall be King, whatever mock Royalty they nominally give him. It is their own Interest and Dominion only that they seek, to master and crush us for beating and disappointing them: They know that they can never flourish and domineer till they have impoverished and oppressed us: And none but an absolute Creature of theirs, one pliable into every Form and Impression, obsequious to their Dictates, and supple to their Will, can serve Them by domineering over Us.

If they found such Complaisance from K. *Ch. II.* without any Claim to the Merit of restoring him: If that Prince shewed so little Gratitude to the *English* Nation, for their Zeal and Generosity in recalling him, as to sacrifice, as he did during his whole Reign, so loyal a People to the unjust Views and pernicious Ambition of *France*, and but seemed a Protestant the better to betray his Protestant Sub-



jects : If K. *James* II. blindly and ungratefully followed the same Course, and whilst he had the awkward Ambition of aiming at absolute Power here, yet was meanly subservient to the Dictates and Grandeur of *France*, still more meanly owning the Sovereignty of the Pope ; though neither *France* nor the Pope had any Share in giving him his Crown : If both these Princes, only for the sake of making their weak and depraved Will a Law to their good Protestant Subjects, truckled themselves to the Will and Craft of *France* and *Rome*, what is to be expected from one who has no Support but theirs, no Principles but those of Popery and Tyranny ; or, if he had other and better Principles, dares not maintain them, though he may be allowed to profess them, and practise Guile the better to serve the Purposes of these his Protectors, and his own Purposes ?

A Ruler imposed upon a Country may claim Right, but will rule by Force where his Right is not owned. They who help him to rule will rule for him, and be his Masters, though he bear the Name. Neither he nor they will trust a People whom they have once forced : He will not be suffered to trust them, if he would. For then he ceases to be independent of those who imposed him. Whoever call in question his Right, will pay for their Sauciness with their Lives. The Laws that oppose it will be Treason : The Acts of Violence that support it will be called Laws, and the Sword will direct, as well as execute, the Process. Hungry Harpies will be craving after Prey ; Vengeance will be hunting for Victims ; to gorge both Sorts, the Rich and the Guiltless must perish. Wherever there is Property there will be Guilt : All Men will be exposed to suffer, the Best most ; Suffering will be followed with Complaint, Complaints with Punishment. Wise Men will excite Jealousy : Great Men will be the Objects of Fear : And as Discon-

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tents will be constantly and plentifully furnished, fresh Terrors to extinguish them will continually be increased, and continually be renewing such Discontents.

Here is a dreadful Series and Intercourse of Enmity, where one Side only is armed, and void of Mercy ; as the other is of Help or Hope. Title, Quality, Fortune, will be obnoxious and marked ; every Virtue will become a Snare, and whatever furnished out the Ease and Ornament of Life, will become a Call for taking Life away. The Acquisitions of Ages, the Industry of Years, the Fruits of a thousand Cares, will be swept away in a Moment, all to reward the guilty Authors of such horrible Iniquity and Combustion. Such will be the Penalty of Fortune and Merit ; such the Price imposed upon Public Ruin ; a Price always paying, but never finally paid till All is paid. The Course of Law and even of Nature will be inverted, Nobility demeaned ; Meanness exalted ; Worth punished, Guilt rewarded : Whatever was once Law will be Treason ; whatever was once Treason will be Law.

Thus tragical and perishing must be the State of *England*. What must be the State Abroad, but that all *Europe* must follow the general Servitude begun here ; and thus deprived of its chief Protection and Resource, sorrowfully bear the Yoke of a restless Nation eager to put Chains on all others, though they bear the heaviest themselves.

They had never accomplished the Grand Design, without the Help of the two Royal Brothers, the *English* Monarchs above-mentioned. For, though *France* made them not, she moulded and managed them. Far from attending to the Call of National Interest and Honour, and asserting the Glory of the *English* Diadem, by preserving the Balance, and checking the Encroachments of *France* ; the two Royal Brothers encouraged all her Encroachments, upon all



her Neighbours, upon the Empire, upon *Spain*, and upon the *Dutch*, our more intimate Neighbours and Fellow-Protestants; nay, assisted to exterminate the whole *Dutch* Nation, in order to make *England* a more contiguous Member of the *French* Monarchy, to which the *English* Monarchs were become mean Pensioners and Auxiliaries, with the preposterous Pride of aiming themselves at absolute Power over free Subjects, who were too proud to be Slaves, especially second-hand Slaves to *France*.

The Monarchs of *England* descended to be the unnatural Instruments of exalting *France*, and were the Authors of all the Expence, answerable for all the dreadful Wars in *Europe* every since. A Frown from a King of *Great-Britain*, would have made the Grand Monarch a very harmless Neighbour. Would *Edward III.* would *Henry V.* nay, would *Oliver Cromwell*, in King *Charles's* Place, have suffered him to spoil his weakest Neighbours, or once to have displayed the *Flower-de-luce* upon the *Rhine* or *Moselle*? *Oliver* kept him in constant Awe; though, for his own Ends, such was the unhappy Situation of an Usurper, he allowed him too much Line. The two Brothers lacquied to him as their Superior, took his Hire, and, as it were, wore his Livery, and encouraged him in all his perfidious, in all his barbarous Invasions.

It was this, this infamous Acquiescence and Vainity from hence, that made him the Terror, the Oppressor of *Europe*, and raised his Vanity, and his Power with it, so high, that it required a *William III.* and a Duke of *Marlborough* to tame him and take him down. That these two great Genius's in State and War did not thoroughly humble him, was owing to the same Spirit and Party, which at this Instant threaten their Country with its old Dangers and Dishonour.

*France*



*France* knows that in order to enslave *Europe*, she must begin with *Great-Britain*: *Great-Britain* ought to know, all wise Men in it *do* know, that *England* has nothing but Chains and Misery to hope from the Policy and Friendship of *France*. This is a dreadful Prospect to *Britons* and *Protestants*, and the only one, if she succeed. Ought it not to be the first and last Resolution of *Englishmen* and *Protestants*, that she shall not? What Indignation must they not naturally feel against the perfidious, the insolent, and sanguinary Efforts of *France*, and against all who impiously take Part with *France*! Her Partizans here, if there be any such, must be the most unnatural of all Parricides: A glorious Spirit appears amongst all Classes of Men, in spite of all the late Pains taken, all the traiterous Misrepresentations used, to prevent it, to damp it, and to turn the Resentment of *Englishmen* upon the Guardians of *England*, without sparing *the Highest*. God forgive them! Their Country ought not. Whilst they were stimulating the Nation to hate the Government, they stimulated *France* to invade the Nation. I hope they all had not such wicked Purposes, or saw not the alarming Consequences, but only vented their own blind Rage. Such, however, is the Effect of such Rage, not the more laudable for being blind, certainly not the more harmless.

There are not the same Materials now for another Revolution. The last was a manifest Deliverance from Popery and Tyranny. This would be as manifest a Delivery into both. King *James* deposed himself: He would abolish Parliaments. He would establish Popery: His Will was to be a Law to his Subjects: Their Consciences must submit to his Bigottry. These were Grievances indeed, not made, nor to be aggravated, but *felt*. No wonder he at once lost Lords and Commons, Army, Clergy and People. He had incited and even warranted them  
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to desert him, and effectually warned them never to trust him more, whom no Oaths nor Laws could bind, and who had set up Superstition against the Gospel, and Jesuitism against the *English* Hierarchy, Acts of State against Acts of Parliament.

What are the Grievances at present? War and Taxes, and Foreign Subsidies: Heavy Evils, without doubt. But, from what Causes, and when did they begin? Were they not all derived from the same Root, from the same Quarter and devilish Policy, from whence we are just now threatened with Relief? They all came from *France* and from the pernicious Subserviency of our former Princes to *France*. All that was sacred and valuable to *England*, was then sacrificed to *France*; *English* Honour, the Religion, the Trade of *England*, with a Balance of Millions yearly in Favour of *France*. The Reader will find all this fairly and clearly explained, in a Treatise published a Year or two ago, intituled, *A Letter from a By-Stander.*

What therefore is the present Business, what the present Interest of *England*, but for its own Sake and Security, to take the contrary and the honourable Course, to watch all the Steps of *France*, to defeat all the Efforts of *France*, and to keep *France* from enslaving *England* and *Europe*? If she is suffered to succeed upon the Continent, she will succeed here: If she succeed here, she will upon the Continent: If she strip the Queen of *Hungary*, she is Mistress of the *German* Empire. If she carry her Point in *England*, there is an End of the Queen of *Hungary*. And she is never to be trusted while she is able to hurt either. Religion too often follows Power, or is changed and subverted by Power. *France*, by extending her Sway, will extend Popery; and if by planting a *French* Deputy upon the *English* Throne, she can master this great Source and Asylum of *Protestantism*,





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*stantism*, Religion will too naturally end, where there is an End of Liberty.

What can be a more alarming Call, what a more interesting Quarrel? It is literally *pro Aris & Focis*, for whatever concerns God or Conscience, whatever concerns our Liberties and Fortunes, to keep them, or to lose them; nay, to keep them or lose them for ever, is the Dispute. Our Enemies will be as eager to keep Footing, as to gain it: If present Defence and Spirit be wanting, future Remedies will probably be ineffectual.

What can be a more sensible Insult, or higher Provocation, than that a Nation, whom we have always beaten, and are now beating, should dare to face our Coasts, and audaciously threaten to conquer us, and even to rule us by a Deputy? Indeed if they carry this Point, they carry all. If they fail in this, they fail in all. The Decision is short and comprehensive on both Sides. If she succeed, we are undone. If she miscarry, she is finally baffled and vanquished.

Failing of such Reception as they expected at Court, they fulfilled Mr. *Sh——n's* Prophecy: They returned again to *Martha* and the *Cocoa-Tree*, and again to their Complaints of Grievances, were again all Patriots, all for *restoring* the Constitution, now they themselves were not restored. The Constitution was in Danger, because they were out of Place; as the Church had been once, till they got in; and then both Church and Constitution were in Danger indeed: Popery became a harmless, nay, a reputable Religion; all its Terrors vanished: The Crown was unalienable; for the Comfort of the Pretender, and the Encouragement of his Friends: Resistance was Rebellion; for the Justification of King *James*, and the Condemnation of the Revolution: No Law could set aside Hereditary Right; to the utter Exclusion of the *Hanover* Succession: Li-

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berty and Moderation were Words of Reproach. Yet when the late King came, they swore to him, offered him their Service, and rebelled against him for not accepting it.

After such outrageous Conduct, such Contempt of Oaths and Laws, *Liberty* is fouled by such Mouths as theirs. Those who have most Liberty, always complain most of the want of it: They who really want it, dare not complain. The scurrilous Abuse of it, and licentious Complaints of the want of it, prove that the inconsistent Complainers have too much, enough to disgrace and overthrow it. Sir *John Temple* observes, that for some time before the *Irish* Rebellion and Massacre, the Cry of Liberty was so high, so fashionable, and so echoed by the *Irish* Lawyers, that well-affected Men, who really foresaw the Danger, could procure no Remedy, hardly a Hearing in the *Irish* Parliament. Every Step to secure the Government, was an Attack upon Liberty. This was the Stile, this the Policy of the *Irish* Tories, an hundred Years ago, when their Hearts were bent, and their Hands already lifted up to *restore their old Constitution*; by Carnage and Rebellion. The same Policy, therefore the same Stile is natural to their Brethren in *England*, when they too are bent upon *restoring*.

Their Cry for restoring the Constitution is Assurance and Insult. *Restoring* is indeed a significant Word, and comes properly from them, but is in *their Language* very unnaturally joined with the Constitution; a *Restoration* of their procuring, would put an End to the Constitution.

To what Period would they have the Constitution restored? Let them chuse what Time, what Reign they please, since the Beginning of History, here or abroad? It is demonstrable, that no Time, no Government since the Beginning of Time, but our own Government and these very Times, would have  
bore



bore them, bore their intemperate Invectives and seditious Insults. If they cannot produce such Instances of Forbearance and Lenity under any Prince, or any Commonwealth, ancient or modern, *Greece, Rome, France, Holland*, or any other existing, or which ever did exist; they are the most ungrateful, the most insolent Subjects that ever any Government bore, or can bear, consistently with its own Preservation. It would be too shocking to mention what must have been their Portion, under any of our own *Edward's* and *Henry's*, even under the mildest of these Monarchs. Such is their Inconsistency, their Aukwardness, or Ignorance, in extolling Times past, in order to vilify the present. If upon Trial, they can find no Government like their own, so free, so mild; let them invent a better Government, if they can: I will engage to find as many Topics of Complaint and Invective against the best they can invent, as they find and publish every Day with such unprecedented Bitterness against ours; by all which they daily prove ours to be the freest in the whole World.

If all the old *English* Reigns were more or less oppressive, as without doubt they were; if our Constitution was then defective, as in Fact it was; is it not the most confident Mockery to talk of *restoring the Constitution*; when during every Period of the old Constitution and of all those Reigns, the Declaimers and Traducers of the present free Government would not have been suffered to have lived an Hour, nor to have died so gently as common Felons, had they then vented the smallest of their seditious Revelings?

To *restore the Constitution* would be Cant out of their Mouths; if it really wanted restoring. What are they going to *restore* now? Is a Pupil of the Pope, a Creature of *France*, a proper Instrument to restore the *English* Constitution? Is an Army of

*French* and *Irish* Papists seasonable Reformers in the Eyes of *Englishmen*? Is not such an Apprehension enough to move even the hardest Heart, to bring Tears from the driest Eye, and to rouse the most stupid Spirit? Deliverers from *Rome*, and *France*, and *Dunkirk*! Shocking Names to *English* Ears, Names big with *Chains*, *Imposture*, *Cruelty* and *Spoil*!

It is easy to know what the Pope wants to have restored in *England*; no less than his Infernal Power and Imposture, his Monks and Monasteries, and his old Claims to the Fat of the Land. It is easy to know what *France* wants to have restored in *England*; a *Deputy* supported by her Power, and sold to her Will: All the rest will follow in Course; our National Impotence and Slavery; and a happy Conjunction for oppressing *Europe*. Durst a Creature of *France* upon the *British* Throne, oppose *France*, or maintain the Dignity and Trade of *Britain* against *France*? To accept such a Deputy-Royal would be submitting at once and for ever to the Government and Yoke of *France*; and becoming a Province to *France*.

Neither will the Loss of Liberty (a Loss never to be compensated) be our only Loss. *France* is famous for making plentiful Retribution to herself for all her Favours; or rather for every Grimace of Favour; since whatever she does is for herself; even what she makes other Nations do, is still for *France*.

What a formidable List of Demands may she not make upon *England*, for Fleets and Armies, maintained, and lost for King *James*? For Expences for the Court and Followers of King *James*? Fleets and Armies, and Treasure for the Support and Restoration of his pretended Son? Even the present Fleet and Army at *Dunkirk*, the Transports, Embarkation and Invasion, all intended for the Perdition of *England*, must be at the Cost of *England*.

What



Now what can furnish readier Payment for all this heavy Charge, than our public Stocks and Funds? Wealth, which will be said to have been gained under Usurpers, and employed to support Usurpation, but to be then more naturally applied to redeem the Credit of our lawful Princes, by repaying the immense Sums generously expended for them by *France*, for almost threescore Years. Nor will all this probably be enough to satisfy *France*, to secure her Pupil in *England*, and her own Influence over both. To furnish a proper Receptacle for *French* Forces by Sea and Land, to awe insolent Subjects, to curb cursed Heretics, and secure the *French* Vice-roy, a good Port and Garrison may be found necessary to be put into *French* Hands: And what can lie more conveniently than *Portsmouth*, so near the Centre of the Kingdom just opposite to the *French* Coast? What Conditions will he venture to reject, let them ask what they will of him? To make him Master of the Nation, they must be Masters of both him and the Nation; then, they need not ask, but take; what will he dare to refuse them?

What dare the present Emperor refuse them? What *did* he dare to refuse them, or in what to check them, when they were ravaging and dismembring the Empire, of which he called himself the Head and Protector; nay, when they were ravaging *Bavaria*, and spoiling his poor Subjects? What Terms dare he yet refuse them, or what Limb of *Germany* deny them, for their own Use? Can there be a more awakening Lesson and Example to *England* upon the present Occasion?

I cannot but divert myself with the Stile and Pomp of the Pretender's Declaration, said to be ready printed, I know not whether here or in *France*; most probably here, and still more probably taken from the Strains and Arguments of our late Libels, which



which seem to be *Manifesto's* ready drawn for his Use, to propagate an Aversion to *Hanover*, and to All that come from it ; to excite general Disaffection and Rebellion, and to make Way for a Revolution ; or, in more *wary* Words, but full as plain, to *restore the old Constitution* ; for which all *Papists* and *Jacobites* are zealous, because *then* the Church flourished in Popery, and the Crown in arbitrary Power. I should not wonder to find the Pretender (for young or old, he is still a Pretender) in his Declaration, undertaking to *restore that Constitution*.

Methinks I see his Declaration lying before me, full of strong and most gracious Assurances, and *no Deceit*. He comes only to recover his *Legal Rights* (to which he is very welcome) and to restore his Subjects to theirs. Then follow voluminous Endearments. “ What Tenderness and fatherly Zeal  
 “ for the good People of *England* ; their Liberties  
 “ and Properties, all sacrificed to *Hanover* ; a Slavery and Oppression which wrings his *English*  
 “ Heart, and therefore he comes from *France* and  
 “ *Rome*, with an Army of *French Papists* and *Irish*  
 “ *Fugitives* (Descendants from the Cut-throats in  
 “ Forty-one) to rescue and save them, especially  
 “ their Religion, which his Education and Discipline at *Rome* have taught him to prize and protect.”

*They who turn the World upside down, are to come hither also* ; only to compose and settle us ; for they love us, and will keep us from hurting ourselves, by interfering with them in domineering over *Europe*, and in engrossing the Power, and with it the Wealth and the Trade of the World.

In order to this laudable End, we must undergo some small Changes : All the Laws enacted for half a Century past, must be repealed ; all Titles of Nobility extinguished ; all Attainders reversed ; the Estates of all the Attainted restored : Loyal Sufferers,  
 who

who had followed and adhered to the Fortune of their Sovereign, must be rewarded with the Honours and Fortunes of Rebels, who have unnaturally prospered since the Revolution, or by it: The Proud must be humbled, the Needy exalted, and Subjects flourishing in Rank and Abundance, shall see their Places filled, see their Dignities possessed by Fugitives lately wanting, but not meriting, their Offals. How else are Shoals of hungry, meritorious Followers to be satiated and distinguished? How else are so many rich and saucy Revolutioners to be fleeced and punished, or an exiled Monarch duly avenged?

The Seats of Justice must be emptied of the present *Hanoverian* Judges, and filled with such as are well-affected to a *French* Settlement: Military Commissions, and all Places whatsoever must be vacated, and supplied the same Way, for the same Reason. New Oaths must be administered, and past or future Perjury submitted to: Drove of Monks, of various and dirty Hue, but all of one foul Spirit, must adorn our Streets, rule our Consciences and Families, and be duly carested and fed: Why should not the King's clerical Guides be at least tolerated and respected? For, probably, it will not be reckoned advisable to turn out immediately all the Heretical Clergy. That Stroke, however necessary and resolved, will require Time, and Fraud, and fair Words.

When all these Changes and many more are made, when indefeasible Hereditary Right is restored and explained, with fresh and stronger Ties, and with it Passive-Obedience; when all our Wealth, the Cause of our Wantonness and long Disloyalty, is gone to discharge our just Debts to *France*, and *English* Tranquility is thoroughly settled upon *French* Maxims, by *French* Measures, we shall live less



less turbulent, but more happy, unless we will venture to be hanged for thinking otherwise.

If we should be obstinate, and submit to no Changes, and accept of none of her Favours, especially a *Piece of Kingship* from her Hands; still she hopes to have one View answered, by involving us in a Civil War, and feeding it with continual Fuel, till we be consumed by it. She will then have Power and Leisure to dispose of *Europe* as she lists, and to seize all our Trade while we are spilling our own Blood.

As it is for her own sake only that she is forcing her Courtesy upon us, she must only mean our Destruction by it. Is any one so weak or distracted, as not to know, that there can be no personal Affection between Nation and Nation, rival Nations who thrive by hurting one another? *Ruin, Ruin to England*, is the constant Interest and Maxim of *France*; and therefore the present and eternal Aim of *France*. Let any Man of *common* Sense construe it otherwise, if he can. Public Destruction must follow the Exaltation of the Pretender, and they mean it by sending him. It will be crowning *France* instead of him. They who bring him here, must maintain him here: They who maintain him, will rule him.

Would she allow the poor Emperor to direct or command the Forces she sent into *Germany*, in Appearance and Profession to serve him, in Reality and Design to serve herself? No, she gives him magnificent Promises, and a small Subsistence: The *French* General carries about him the Imperial Power, and subdulous Instructions of the Emperor. God have Mercy upon *Germany*, if they ravage it a second Time. It is what they still drive at; and who shall hinder them, if they can first ravage, or even only divert *England*?

Doubtless all this Catalogue of Woes intended against us, will be at first, and for some Time de-







nied: Doubtless every Thing to the contrary will be copiously promised. For what will not *France* promise and deny? What will not her Pupil, instructed by her, and acting for her, promise and deny, to gain three Kingdoms? What did not King *James* promise and swear? In what one Article did he observe his Promise or his Oath?

What Treaties, what Oaths have ever secured the Engagements of *France*? She swore to the *Pyrenean* Treaty, never to claim a Foot of Land from *Spain*; and then seized the *Spanish Netherlands*: She swore to the Treaty for a Partition of the *Spanish* Monarchy; then seized the Monarchy itself. In all her former Wars upon the Empire she solemnly engaged, not to keep an Inch of it to herself; and that all she did was for the sake of her Allies: She then always betrayed her Allies, and robbed the Empire of whole Provinces, and its strongest Fortresses. In the late War she made the same self-denying Declaration, and observed it just as she did her former. She takes *Lorrain* as a Reward for guaranteeing the *Pragmatic Sanction*: She makes War to destroy the *Pragmatic Sanction*; yet, without a Blush, still keeps *Lorrain*. Just so she cheated the King of *Sardinia*, in the last War in *Italy*: Just so she will serve *Don Philip*, if she can; procure him, if she can, some Provinces in *Italy*, and keep the best of them to herself. Ought any *European* Nation, can any Christian, will any *Englishman* trust her Faith again, and again lie exposed to her Tyranny and Snares?

She hath been always free of her Offers to serve *England*, in order to undo *England*. To support the mad Rule of the late King *James* against Religion, the Laws and his Oath, she offered him an Army of thirty thousand *French*, which the undiscerning King would have accepted, but for the Advice of the Earl of *Sunderland*, who told him, that these were enow to reduce the Crown as well as the



Subject. Such a just Opinion had the sage Earl of the Faith and Designs of *France*!

The present Tender of her Good Will to us, hath made one Discovery notably to her Disadvantage and Mortification, but equally to our Benefit and Glory, that however *Englishmen* may differ and dislike, and even calumniate, one another, they are unanimous against *France*, against *French* Falshood, *French* Invasion, and a King of *French* Creation. Never did a nobler Spirit appear, more Resolution, more Indignation: Lord and Commons, Clergy, Merchants, Tradesmen, Soldiers, all see, all abhor, all are eager to punish the Fraud and Presumption of *France*. She hath spread her own Character in striking Lineaments and lasting Colours all over Christendom: In *England* she is but reviving old Antipathies long deserved, and constantly heightened: She hath now raised them to Extremity, and she may assure herself, that such of the *Britons* as shall have the Honour to meet her Troops (if they come) will do it with infinite Good-will, and treat them with the same Gallantry they have ever treated them, of old in *France* itself, formerly in *Flanders*, lately upon the *Rhine*. She will find the *British* Spirit as bright, the *British* Arms as dreadful, at Home as Abroad.

We fear nothing: Her Friends here are mute: They see themselves despised: All their Uproar against *Hanover* is scattered in Smoke, in Contempt or Oblivion. All Men of Substance and Sense dread a King-Adventurer, imposed by *France*; all applaud, all promote every vigorous Measure of Defence: Many brave Troops are ready, more are approaching, to receive the new Guests: A very noble *British* Marshal commands them; a Commander as experienced as valiant, beloved by the Army, an Enemy to all false Faith; well enough acquainted with the Politics of *France* to despise them, and with their Arms not to fear them. The Nation knows,  
all

all the discerning and substantial Part of it know (in spite of all traiterous Lyes and Misrepresentations, so strenuously and maliciously spread) the Value of their King, and the ancient Lustre and Importance of his House ; how brave in his Person, how just in his Principles ; a great King, and an honest Man ; a happy Character, too singular in the World. All Kings profess good Faith. Our King observes it. They commend Probity ; He practises it.

What Enemies he hath, are as to Numbers, amongst the Refuse of the People ; and it is Art, as well as Ignorance, that has made them so. They have been debauched by miserable lying Libels, by the Fanatics of Faction, by crazy Nonjuring Priests, or by such as are worse than Nonjurors ; by the Angry, the Disappointed and the Desperate. Most of his Majesty's Foes are such who cannot read, nor distinguish between Sense and Nonsense ; who believe any Lye which they are told is true ; who love and hate, not as they ought, but as they are bid.

It is Ignorance, as well as Prejudice and Pride, that makes *Jacobites* : No Wonder there should be many. There is no Dunce of Quality, who hath not many humble Dunces to admire him. If the 'Squire's Barrels be full and flowing, the Rustics, his Neighbours, never suspect his Parts. If his Title be higher, so will the Respect paid him. Whoever professes to love his Country, is never discredited by his foolish Followers. If he be an able Party-Man, he has a Chance to have many Followers. If he be a Bigot, and his Character holy, he can easily make, more easily govern Bigots ; can make Jargon pass for Reason and Gospel, the Cause of Imposture for the Cause of God, and lift Religion into Faction.

Had it not been for the Blind led by the Artful, the Weak by the Wicked, King *George* would have no Enemies, the Pretender no Friends. Zeal for the latter,



latter, and Disaffection to the former, are chiefly found in the mere Croud, in Rustics next to Savages; in dreary Solitudes; in the Bogs and Rocks of *Ireland*; in the bleak Mountains of *Wales*; in the dark Dens of the *Highlands*, and the blindest Corners of the Island; amongst the Illiterate, the Unsocial, the Superstitious; all only formidable in their Leaders; their Leaders only considerable in their Followers.

Can there be a more glaring Proof, that such as are Enemies to King *George*, are Enemies to their Country, than that they are encouraging an Invasion from the inveterate Foe of their Country, and betraying the Government into his Hands, by accepting a *Governor* from him? Can the World shew, doth History parallel, such Iniquity and Infatuation? I doubt not but the impious Undertaking will prove pernicious to the Undertakers, and end in their Confusion. I hope it will prove instructive to all the Well-affected, be a Warning to them, unite them against their common Enemies, put them upon their Guard against seducing Professions, keep them from swallowing, for public Spirit, what comes from a Spirit of Sedition, and teach them to distinguish between personal Rage and the Love of the Public.

I fear that too many of them have hurt the Cause they love, by helping those who hate it; that they have strengthened the Cause of *Jacobitism*, by being persuaded that there were no *Jacobites*; and opposed necessary and just Measures, by listening to some who pursued the worst, and therefore always vilified, sometimes blasted, the best.

Whatever the Government has done, the best it has done even for the necessary Preservation of the Whole, hath been opposed with Bitterness, treated with Slander, and exposed to public Scorn: As if Government itself had been a Grievance, and this Government particularly to be disowned and overthrown. Even such as meant no other Government, have by  
their



their Lukewarmness, their Sullenness, and narrow Distastes, encouraged its most implacable Enemies, and instead of aiding it, promoted its Fall. What could be a more obvious Invitation to Rebellion, what a more natural Call for an Invasion? The *French* and the Pretender have observed the Call, and are hastning to comply with it. What Wonder, when they saw so many attacking, so few defending the Public and *Protestant* Cause? The Well-affected are now alarmed, and I hope will henceforth take *Warning*.

Whatever hurts this Government, serves the Pretender: Whatever weakens the Pretender's Cause, strengthens the Government. But the Pretender is a Name so invidious and disgraceful, that it must be always concealed and disowned, even by his greatest Zealots. Therefore all *Jacobites* deny *Jacobitism*. In *Oliver's* Time there were no *Cavaliers*, no *Royalists*: They were all for a Commonwealth. Such Disguise can obnoxious Men wear: They wore theirs by the Advice of the exiled King; and under it, besides consulting their own Safety, they covertly laboured his Restoration. Weak Men misled, are as zealous for a bad Cause, as wise Men are for a good. The Pretender's Adherents, are as zealous as the Adherents of King *Charles*, and more blind. I doubt such Zeal and Blindness possess many. But let their Numbers and Zeal be what they will, the Well-affected, Well-united, may safely defy and despise both.

God grant such Union: If the present Danger and Discovery do not produce it, what can?

F I N I S.

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A circular ink stamp from the British Museum. The outer ring contains the words "BRITISH MUSEUM" in a serif font. In the center is a detailed coat of arms featuring a crown atop a shield supported by two lions, with a motto scroll below. The stamp is slightly faded and positioned in the upper right quadrant of the document.



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